2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

continued our school sessions. The men pointed out another pillar, farther down the canyon, that endangered neither school nor village, that would come down "four suns, maybe five."

From the day of the flood, falling boulders and landslides had kept us in an unsettled state, but on the fourth day, as the men had predicted, the big column fell. It leaned out from the wall, toppled crazily, its center buckling, and burst apart with a roar as if the gorge itself had split open and was shaking itself to pieces. A bedlam of sound struck the angled walls to be tossed back, echoing and re-echoing until it seemed there would never be an end to it. We hurried down to view the ruin, arriving before the dust had settled, while the stones were still sliding over one another, groaning and grinding as they shifted to a lower level.

The Indians patiently repaired their houses, dried out the furnishings, rebuilt fences, replanted gardens and orchards. How many times in the past had they undertaken this same task, I wondered. I wondered, too, at the leisurely way they worked, stopping to gamble a little, to visit and make merry for awhile, or to eat food some neighbor brought. If a task could not be done one way, try another; if it could not be done today, try it tomorrow. They had never worked by a clock, nor permitted time to become their master, so they, as a people, remained cheerful, unhurried.

Portions of the Walapai trail had been wiped out. The Indian men, using their native methods with brush and stones, soon had it passable but dangerous, so we were greatly surprised when several men rode down from the plateau and stopped at the school. One of them, Mr. Jacobs, an engineer in charge of a surveying party on the government reserve, expressed his surprise in finding us alive and the buildings standing. He said, "We watched the storm from our camp a few miles back on the mesa. From there, it looked as if a cloudburst hit right in this canyon. We expected to find this place swept clean as a whistle."

According to his report and that of his men, our danger was as real as it had seemed. But now that it was over, I was prepared.

434 in their absence. Significance may be found in their having solved their economic problems on an individual basis by voluntary resettlement off the reservation with a regular income.

221 From the original Havasupai annual migration cycle, with its combined hunting, gathering, and farming economy, transition to the present patchwork 461 pattern of farming, labor-for-wage employment, and partial or complete 178 government dependency, occurring over the last 60 year period, has produced an unevenness in adaptation of individuals within the tribe.

221 For many years following establishment of a subagency in Supai, cer-178 tain families persisted in following the traditional pattern of winter plateau residence. Depletion of wild food plant resources and enforcement of laws restricting the hunting of larger game to a prescribed autumn hunting season probably did more than Indian Service persuasion to induce an increasing number of families to winter in the canyon. By 1950, only one old couple continued to winter regularly on the plateau. This couple, alone or with several of their adult children and their families, was absent from Supai only about four months.

[222] Maturity of the pinyon nut crop on the plateau occasions the only mass exodus of families from the canyon at the present time. For three or four weeks the pinyon forest is alive with family groups reaping the harvest and enjoying a sort of nostalgic holiday. Following the pinyon harvest, families drift back to Supai, a few of them detouring to visit at Grand Canyon or on the Walapai reservation.

729 There was speculation among interested Indian Service personnel that the 11 Havasupai World War II veterans would not settle in Supai after their horizons had been broadened by Army training and experience which included overseas service for some of them. However, 10 of them returned to their families in the canyon and to their prewar residence and employment patterns.

657 In 1951, on the recommendation of an extension agent who had surveyed the economic situation of the Havasupai Indians for the Office of Indian Affairs, Havasupai families became eligible for resettlement on the Colorado River Irrigation Project near Parker, Arizona. This program, originally designed for Navaho and Hopi resettlement, allotted to each family 40 acres of farm land with an option to lease an additional 20 acres (Kelly 1953, 80). Later, old army barracks were made available for housing. Three of the younger Havasupai men settled on these land allottments, but two of them returned to Supai. Other men who were contacted individually by the resident agent simply could not be persuaded to consid r moving away from Supai.

311 The land shortage is, of course, acute on the Havasupai reservation. It was estimated in 1950 that each family camp unit was farming about three or four acres. In 1955 a government soil scientist estimated that the

603 Close bonds often exist today between grandparents and grandchildren. A large number of present day adults were at one period or another, in their formative years, dependent upon someone standing in the grandparent relationship to them, this category including siblings of all four lineal grandparents. Children of divorced parents and those who lose either or both parents in death customarily live with a grandparent in preference to an aunt, an uncle, or an older sibling. If no lineal grandparent is available, siblings of the lineal grandparents often accept responsibility for the children. Children who are not orphans dependent upon their grandparents often are part of an extended family residing with, or closely grouped with, the paternal grandparents. Thus, there is an opportunity for close association with at least one set of grandparents. A child living on the reservation seldom dwells far from his grandparents, even though residence may be in another household.

Association between a granddaughter and her grandmothers is close throughout a girl's early life. A grandmother takes delight in watching her grandchildren at play, and usually shares an affectionate relationship with them. In the normal course of events, a grandmother has more time free from household tasks than she did when her own children were small. Association between a granddaughter and her grandmother appears to become closer as a small girl begins to share more fully in domestic tasks if the two are members of the same household. Although a girl's association with her own mother is usually very close if her mother is living, she forms a tie with her grandmother second only to that with her mother. If a girl is motherless, a grandmother, or several grandmothers, play the roles of mother and grandmother to her simultaneously. In one instance in which an [848] illegitimate girl was reared entirely by her maternal grandmother after her own mother married, the bond between grandmother and granddaughter appears to be that of mother and daughter, and the girl's own mother plays only a slightly larger role in her life than do the maternal aunts.

[461] The work delegated to a young girl, aside from tending her younger siblings, is often shared with her grandmother. Together the old woman and young girl in former times would undertake a day's trip on the plateau or would climb from Cataract Canyon to the Esplanade to gather wild plants. They might work together in the fields or perhaps work in camp while the girl's mother undertook more strenuous tasks.

long one and for that or other reasons some women still give birth at home. It is recognized that a hospital birth is safest if anything irregular happens to mother or infant. In recent years, two emergency cases have been airlifted by helicopter to medical attention, but there are times when telephone service is interrupted and no help can be summoned quickly. (In the summer of 1958 the agent was attempting to persuade every expectant mother to leave Supai for delivery, only a small percentage of births still occurred in the village unattended by qualified medical personnel.) 844 177

Relationship between Mother and Children

Although a Havasupai mother's waking hours are mostly occupied with household tasks, the pace of activity is slow. Much of her work centers about the care of her children, and the nature of most tasks is such that she can be within sight and hearing of her children most of the time. 593 461 855

Cooking and much of a woman's other work is accomplished under a brush shelter or in the open, and family activities thus are centered in the outdoor camp area in good weather. Because of this a Havasupai mother spends nearly all of her waking hours in close association with her small children. Houses are used for shelter in inclement weather, but otherwise they serve mostly as sleeping quarters and storage space. A married woman has no round of daily household cleaning and other tasks to isolate her from her children who, like all youngsters, like to spend most of their time outdoors.

A mother keeps her cradled infant close at hand where as she works she can talk to it, fondle it, and take it up at her whim or the baby's signal. She permits her child the freedom of the camp area as it learns to crawl and then to walk, but usually its mother is the center of a small child's play orbit. [854]

A mother may lavish somewhat more attention on her first child or two merely because she has less work to do and other children are not competing for time. A young mother in an extended household receives some assistance in child care from her mother or mother-in-law as well as from other women and young girls of the kin group. Normally, a mother assumes the primary responsibility for all of her own children, but there is always some relative who will care for her children if she is unwilling or unable to do so.

Intrafamily Conflict

Occasionally, a grandmother competes for a child's affection or interferes with a mother's training or disciplinary methods. In such instances, resentment may arise between grandparents and parents, jealousy and fric- 603 593 578 604

462 for someone who needs help. The heavier work is done by men while women
[342] generally do the thatching. However, with house design and materials chang-
[476] ing, housebuilding is now a masculine task.

462 Barter was popular among both sexes, both within and outside the tribe,
439 each individual trading the fruits of his own labors. Women usually traded baskets while men traded tanned or raw hides. Both might trade dried and seed corn, pinyon nuts, mescal, and other wild plant foods. Men sometimes traded buckskin clothing, powdered ocher, or tools of their own workmanship. Havasupai trading parties consisted of family units or all male groups; women of course did not go off alone to trade. The Havasupai also obtained articles from one neighboring tribe to be used as trade items with another neighbor. Spier (1928, 244) reports that "An active trade was conducted with the Navaho and Hopi to the east and with the Walapai and Mohave to the west. In fact, we may properly speak of a northern Arizona trade route from the Hopi to Mohave, independent of more southerly tribes and cut off from those to the north by the Grand Canyon." Buckskin was the Havasupai article most in demand among other tribes.

Recent Employment

●461 Service ascribes a postulated increase in male prominence and a cor-
177 responding decrease in importance of woman's economic role, in part, to
562 a change from male hunting and female gathering to a subsistence based mainly upon male agricultural activities, and, further, to "white influence" which, he writes, "is undoubtedly effective in promoting male predominance" (1947, 361).

This hypothesis appears subject to modification today. Spier (personal communication, 1957) supports the following conclusions:

First, a survey of women employed permanently or seasonally either on or off the reservation reveals that several maintain themselves, while many others contribute to the support of their parents, husbands, or children. Women remain active in gardening activities as they have always been, but some of the heavier work is reduced for both sexes by use of the tribally owned tractor operated on individual plots by an individual appointed by the tribal council.

Secondly, it is difficult to imagine that the white cultural group, which socially, politically, and economically accords women almost unprecedented status, rights, and privileges, can be responsible for promoting predominance of the Havasupai male or for minimizing the economic importance which the woman had under aboriginal conditions.

562 Women have not been idle at any stage of economic adaptation which
464 the tribe has undergone beginning with depletion by the whites of natural
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177 In comparing aboriginal Havasupai life with that of today, the most
511 outstanding fact is that it's just plain easier to live now. It's easier for the children to survive once they are born and it's easier for their mothers to bear them, since many of them go out to the hospital at Kingman for this purpose. It's easier to keep healthy and easier to recover when one is ill. Preparing food is a simple task compared to what it was. Many household goods, with indispensable functions, are available in the store in improved form and more lasting quality. Keeping warm in the winter now requires half the time and less than half the worry for many families have kerosene or wood stoves. Probably most important of all is the fact that food is easier to get. This has resulted, somewhat, in less emphasis
[594] on the family as an economic unit—a condition which has been accom-
[586] panied by a certain number of undesirable factors such as an increase in the number of divorces.

517 Even though the more readily available food supply has increased the
[46] amount of leisure time, there has been no corresponding elaboration of
525 spare time activities or additional specialization. In the heat of early afternoon, however, one may still see the women gathering from all parts of the canyon by foot and horseback at some appointed place for their gambling session. This is an important daily event and the women, clad in their best dresses, congregate for poker, blackjack, Russian bank and plenty of gossip. Gambling is not limited to the women by any means, but they are the experts—they should be—they get more practice, for with them it is part of the daily routine and it has been for a long time. Before
[177] playing cards were introduced, intricate native games were played instead.

345 While the women gamble, most of the men take sweat-baths. This is
[517] their most important source of daily recreation. The sweat house is a small dome shaped structure over a shallow, circular pit. The frame is made of about a dozen slender poles set into the ground on one side of the pit and arched across to the other side. These are bound together where they cross and a number of horizontal braces are bent around them, leaving space for an entrance. This framework may be covered with blankets or brush and dirt.

555 Stones are heated outside and put into a small pit within the sweat
517 house; then three or four men, clad in breech cloths, enter and close the

They
never chastise children, although, like them, they are fitfully very cruel or kind to pets and domesticated animals. The men, who constantly crowded about my host's hut, were incessantly chattering and laughing, even when the gravest subjects were approached or discussed. The women are by education less vivacious than the men. While paying no attention to pets, they are as affectionate toward children as are the men. They shrink from strangers, rarely, if ever, join in conversation, and preserve a modest bearing, not so much from nature as through fear of censure from the men. They are patient and industrious in the extreme, and while at work are inclined to chat in a sort of monotone with one another. During the absence of the men, they are more disposed to be communicative with strangers, seemingly, not sharing their suspicions of them. The women are not as passionate as the men, although easily moved to tears.

The men are very inquisitive, curious to know about other nations, although not much impressed by things beyond their own comprehension, and unable readily to receive complex ideas. They are humorous and quite witty, delighting in repartee, hoaxing, and jokes; and look in a facetious rather than a critical light upon the awkwardness or discomfiture, even though serious, of others. They laughed and chatted and joked for hours about the death of one of our horses, and the predicament it left us in. The animal, weak after its terrible passage of the deserts, had staggered into the river and drowned. Most spirited and laughable pictures were drawn of our probable sufferings and tears, when returning without the horse; but they said we ought to be comforted in our loss, even with the prospect of famine or exhaustion, when we reflected that it was a great gain to themselves; furnishing them plenty of fresh meat, and cheapening wonderfully the contents of at least one pack. Their perceptive faculties

Their perceptive faculties

181 are good, especially relative to simple
151 ideas and actions, or to the ludicrous.
153 They are capable of connecting words with any new idea which they comprehend, and are the most remarkably imitative human beings I ever saw, both by action and with the voice. They would repeat whole sentences, with marvelous truthfulness of sound, in Moqui, Zuñi, Navajo, Spanish, or English, and they manifested a universal passion for acquiring foreign tongues. All these characteristics, together with their striking powers of retention, were shown in the example following: One of them asked me to write the sentence, "Give it to me," in English, Ha-va-su-pai, and Zuñi. I wrote it, and carefully pronounced it in the three languages, showing him the order of the words. He ran over them a few times, and surprised me a day or two after not only by repeating every word correctly, but by pointing out the different sentences, and even words, which he pronounced. This seemed to argue an appreciation of form as well as of sound and its meaning; on attempting to copy any sentence, however, they would labor patiently, but present a scrawl in which not a mark could be detected that had the remotest resemblance to a single letter in the original.
[212] They did not seem either to be very curious about my writing, or to have the slightest comprehension of it; but would watch and mimic the motions of my hand and pencil in writing, and even the expression of my mouth, then take the pencil, imitate all these things very closely, produce a meaningless scrawl, and gravely read off a ridiculous, usually obscene, rendering of it; seeking my
[522] interpreter, and taking infinite pains to have their frivolities very carefully rendered to me in Zuñi.

281 They are skilled in manufacturing
● 461 and using implements, especially in producing raw material, like buckskin, for which they have universal celebrity from
030 the Colorado to the Rio Grande. The

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The
181 women excel the men in such dexterity,
● 461 being wonderfully apt and graceful in the use of the hand in making baskets or preparing food. The men are expert
[224 hunters, and constantly practice marks-
411] manship with bows and arrows and rifles. They are doubtless endowed with elements of progression, as shown by their habit of always adopting and profiting by improvements or advantages of other nations, when once convinced of their
[562 superiority. The women are certainly
151] duller and less impressionable than the men, but far more thoughtful, and apparently quite sage in some of their reflections, their opinion being at times sought, in ultimate cases, by the latter.

342 The habitations of the Ha-va-su-pai are of three kinds, two of which I have already mentioned. Often, those above the river are conical, half-underground structures, made by supporting three forks against one another, laying lesser poles around these in a circle, and covering the whole with sticks, flags, grasses, and dirt, extending the front out in the shape of a veranda; or, again, by combining the square and the round forms in one, the latter serving as a retreat during severe weather. Anciently, the stone house, of good proportions, and not unlike the Pueblo architecture, except from the fact that it never exceeded one story, was sometimes used, as attested by ruins, of which several plans occur among my notes.

342 Strangest of all, however, with their
172 lesson for the speculative archæologist, are the little cliff dwellings of stone and mud, before mentioned. Though ruder than the wonderful remains of similar character in other parts of the West, *ruins which have attracted world-wide* attention and speculation, they are identical with them, and are the only examples of recently-built and still-occupied cliff dwellings. Furnishing clews
343 to the uses of the lesser rooms and
172 niches in the prehistoric cliff ruins, are the hundreds of little *caches*, or grana-

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versal punishment of death. Like most other Indians, they have a good understanding of the practice of surgery, and a remarkable knowledge of anatomy.

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Labor is not regularly divided, except between the sexes; save that among the men, arrow-making and some such special arts are more practiced by those who excel in them than by others, and basket-making among the women. The men do all the hunting, bringing the game to camp, and skinning the larger kinds; the women cutting it up and preparing it for drying or cooking. Both men and women gather the agave plant, in its season, with many festivities, vying in the preparation of it for mescal, although the burden of the labor in burning it falls to the women. The men break up the soil, lay out and dig the acequias, etc., performing the heavier agricultural work, as well as the planting, while the women weed the crop and assist in hoeing. When the corn ripens, the women gather it and bring it in, make it ready, and store it in the little stone and adobe granaries under the cliffs, and in little obscure rock shelters. They also cook all foods, make baskets and most other implements of household use, while the men cut out and sew the clothing both for themselves and for the women. Much of the heavier part of the work and drudgery falls on the women, who seem, however, perfectly contented with their really hard lot.

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Sedentary agriculturists in summer, the Ha-va-su-pai produce immense quantities of datila, mescal, water-tight basket-work, and arrows. Nomadic hunters in winter, throughout the choicest ranges of the Southwest, they have become justly famous for the quantity, fineness, and quality of their buckskins, which are smooth, soft, white as snow, yet thick and durable. These buckskins, manufactured into bags, pouches, coats, and leggins, or as raw material, are valued by other Indian tribes, even as far east as the Rio Grande, as are the

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221 silks of China or the shawls of Persia by ourselves. All this material is bartered with the Pueblos for blankets and
439 various products of civilization, the former being again traded to the Hua-la-pai for red and black paints, undressed buckskins, and mountain-lion robes. Their red paint, ochre of the finest quality, has such celebrity among Indian tribes that, reaching the Utes on the north, and the Comanches in Texas, it sometimes travels, by barter from hand to hand, as far east as to the tribes of the Mississippi Valley.

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331 The engineering skill and enterprise of this little nation are marvelous. Although their appliances are rude, they are able to construct large dams, and dig or build deep irrigating canals, or durable aqueducts, which often pass through hills, or follow considerable heights along shelves of rock or talus, at the bases of the rugged and crooked walls of the cañon. The acequias, which have their fountain-heads in these canals and viaducts, are wonders of intricacy and regularity; yet on uneven ground are laid out in nice recognition of and conformity to unevenness and change of level in the surface they are designed to water.

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491 Most wonderful of all, however, are their aerial trails. Through the western branch of the cañon, down from the Hua-la-pai country, the trail for horses as well as foot-travelers is over promontories, up shelves, along giddy narrow heights, in and out of recessions, or over stone-pecked slopes, such as would dismay civilized man, with all his means of moulding the rugged face of nature. At times, so impossible does it seem for any living thing to pass further that nowhere can the trail be traced; when a turn to some crack in the rock, almost hidden by intervening bowlders, and hewn down with stone hammers to give precarious footing, shows where it goes up or descends. Great ingenuity is shown in continuing the trail along the

487 bare, smooth face of a cliff which slopes
491 at an angle of forty-five, fifty, even sometimes sixty degrees. The surface, after being roughened, is overlaid with little branches of cedar, upon which larger sticks and stones of great weight are laid, the whole being filled in with dirt and a sufficient quantity of pebbles to guard against washing away. If such a surface be interrupted by a crevice, the two sides of the latter are notched, a fragment of rock fitted in, and the whole covered as before described. Considerable nerve is required, however, to pass these trails. The foothold is always uncertain, and one of these oblique zones, along the centre of which the trail passes, is bounded below by fifteen hundred feet of jagged, rapidly descending rock-masses; above, by two or three hundred feet of beetling, rotten cliffs.

231 Besides their horses, which are adventurers as wonderful as the Indians themselves, through their canon training, they have a few dogs, often wolfish, always mongrel, and six or eight lonely cats, which are extravagantly prized by their possessors, and well fed, yet so worried by dogs and children that they resemble half-starved wild beasts of the feline tribe rather than the descendants of the sleek, domesticated animal of civilization. Not unfrequently beautiful little coyotes are to be seen about
[776] the camp, and these, as the emblems of his own ancestry, his national deity, are affectionately fondled and petted by the Ha-va-su-paí; being allowed a place at the family bowl even in preference to the women or children. Add to these certain sand lizards and many noisy birds of prey, kept more for their feathers than as pets, and the list of Ha-va-su-paí domestication is complete.

521 During intervals in the labor of the
● 46 fields, the men may always be seen gathered in groups of six or ten, chatting together; and the women, always busy, exchange visits while at work

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about the fire, and the visitor is scarcely distinguishable from the hostess, as she shares with her all duties in which the latter may be engaged. So also, when at work in the fields, the women are prone to gather in busy little groups, where their talk and merriment, free from the restraint of the men, are louder than about the household fire.

The children are always boisterously at play, the girls with the boys, and are touchingly affectionate toward one another. The youth gather on level spots and run races, or play games of chance by the hour. They are fond of displaying themselves on horseback; two, sometimes even three, mounting some little pony, and wildly galloping up and down the paths which thread the cornfields where the women and girls are at work. They improve their marksmanship and gain local celebrity, vying with one another in firing at the marks of nature's hand about the great cliffs of their subterranean home.

Councils among the members of the tribe are incessant, though very rarely attended by the chiefs in a body, and never, save on occasions of the utmost gravity, by the head chief, Ko-hót.

As illustrative of this, I may give the following example: When I entered the cañon, warned of the characteristics of the Ha-va-su-paí by Pu-lá-ka-kai, I made a rule, in the first council, that any trade sealed by the customary hand-shake and "*a-há-ni-ga*," or "thanks," should be regarded as final. During one of the four days of our stay, Pu-lá-ka-kai traded one of his jades for a quantity of things, among which was a famously large buckskin. The next morning, the evil-looking, one-eyed fellow who had purchased the horse returned to trade back, or have the difference split by a return of the buckskin. Pu-lá-ka-kai asked my permission, and I tersely refused. The man went away, soon coming back with a noisy, low-browed crowd, which increased in size and noisiness, until, to-

[P.554B] [i.e., horse. -Analyst]